

## Message Text

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SUBJECT: NEW YORK TIMES ARTICLE ON HUNGARY

1. THE FOLLOWING IS AN ARTICLE TITLED "HUNGARY REACHES WESTWARD" BY JOHN OAKES THAT APPEARED ON THE OP-ED PAGE OF THE NEW YORK TIMES ON JULY 7. QUOTE: CHILMARK, MASS. - JANOS KADAR, WHOM THE RUSSIANS INSTALLED IN POWER IN HUNGARY NEARLY 22 YEARS AGO AND WHO HAD HELD THAT POWER LONGER THAN ANY OTHER LEADER OF A WARSAW PACT STATE, IS THE PRAGMATIST SUPREME AMONG SOVIET-DOMINATED COMMUNIST RULERS - AND UNQUESTIONABLY THE MOST SUCCESSFUL OF THEM.

AS A LONG-TIME FRIEND AND ALLY OF LEONID BREZHNEV, HE REFLECTS AND MAY EVEN ANTICIPATE RUSSIAN FOREIGN POLICY BUT AT THE SAME TIME MANAGES TO MAINTAIN A DOMESTIC STANCE THAT DEVIATES MORE FROM MOSCOW'S RIGIDITY THAN ANY OTHER EUROPEAN COMMUNIST STATE BUT YUGOSLAVIA.

IN A RECENT INTERVIEW IN BUDAPEST - THE FIRST GRANTED UNCLASSIFIED

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TO AN AMERICAN NEWSPAPERMAN IN SEVEN YEARS - MR KADAR DENIED RUSSIAN AND CUBAN "INTERVENTION" IN AFRICA AND INSISTED THAT THE ARMAMENTS PROGRAMS OF THE UNITED STATES AND NATO "ARE SERIOUSLY ENDANGERING THE PEACE" -

USING STRIKINGLY SIMILAR PRASEOLOGY TO THAT SUBSEQUENTLY EMPLOYED BY MR. BREZHNEV HIMSELF AND BY THE

SOVIET COMMUNIST PARTY NEWSPAPER, PRAVDA, IN ITS RECENT EXCORIATION OF AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY.

MR. KADAR'S ROLE AS A KIND OF BELLWETHER FOR THE RUSSIANS - EMPHASIZING THEIR ALLEGEDLY PACIFIC INTENTIONS, DEFENDING THEIR ACTIVITIES IN AFRICA AND EXPRESSING CONCERN OVER THE DETERIORATION OF DETENTE, FOR WHICH HE EXCLUSIVELY FAULTED THE WEST - ILLUSTRATES HUNGARY'S AWKWARD POSITION AS A RUSSIAN CLIENT STATE, WHILE IT TRIES AT THE SAME TIME, TO REACH OUT FOR A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WESTERN WORLD.

AS ONE OF THE SMALLEST, MOST VULNERABLE AND RELATIVELY MOST PROGRESSIVE OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES, HUNGARY HAS SPECIAL REASONS TO DEVELOP THAT RELATIONSHIP. ITS COMPARATIVELY LIBERAL INTERNAL ECONOMIC POLICY LEAVES ONLY ABOUT 20 PERCENT OF ITS STATE-OWNED INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION UNDER STRICTLY CENTRALIZED CONTROL, THE REMAINDER LARGELY RELEGATED TO THE HANDS OF INDUSTRIAL PLANT MANAGERS, WITH EMPHASIS ON COMPETITION PROFITABILITY AND PRODUCTIVITY.

EVEN MORE TO THE POINT, HUNGARY HAS BECOME INCREASINGLY DEPENDENT ON FOREIGN TRADE, WHICH IS NOW APPROACHING UNCLASSIFIED

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50 PERCENT OF GROSS NATIONAL PRODUCT - MOSTLY WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNIST BLOC BUT IN RISING PROPORTION WITH THE WEST ON WHICH HUNGARY MUST RELY FOR MODERNIZING ITS TECHNOLOGY. HENCE THE IMPORTANCE PLACED IN BUDAPEST ON APPROVAL OF MOST-FAVORED NATION STATUS BY THE UNITED STATES CONGRESS.

THE EVOLUTION OF HUNGARY'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE WEST IS NOT A MATTER OF ECONOMICS ALONE. JANOS KADAR HAS, IN THE WORDS OF ONE CLOSE DIPLOMATIC OBSERVER FROM A WESTERN COUNTRY, "A GENIUS FOR HOW MUCH MOSCOW WILL TOLERATE - AND A CAPACITY FOR BROADENING THE RANGE OF TOLERANCE." THE RESULT IS THAT INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM IS DOUBTLESS GREATER INSIDE HUNGARY THAN IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY UNDER SOVIET OCCUPATION (SOME 80,000 RUSSIAN TROOPS ARE STILL STATIONED THERE). IN 1976, FOR EXAMPLE, 18 PERCENT OF THE 16 1/2 MILLION BOOKS PUBLISHED IN HUNGARY WERE TRANSLATIONS OF ENGLISH AND AMERICAN AUTHORS, HUNGARY, MR. KADAR SAYS, IS READY TO "BROADEN COOPERATION WITH

COUNTRIES HAVING DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS" ON THE

BASIS OF THE PRINCIPLES LAID DOWN IN THE HELSINKI  
FINAL ACT.

TO PURSUE THIS POLICY OF RELATIVE LIBERALISM  
AT HOME AND WITH NON-SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ABROAD, ONE  
CONDITION IS DEEMED ESSENTIAL: A RELAXED INTERNATIONAL  
ATMOSPHERE. HUNGARIAN INTELLECTUALS SEEM GENERALLY  
AGREED THAT THE EASIER THE SOVIET-AMERICAN CLIMATE  
BECOMES, THE FREER CAN BE THE PLAY OF HUMAN RIGHTS  
IN THEIR OWN COUNTRY, AND VICE-VERSA.

"WE HUNGARIANS WHO HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT  
DEVELOPMENTS IN SOCIAL DEMOCRACY HAVE MOST TO LOSE  
BY THESE TENSIONS THAT ARE REFLECTED DIRECTLY BACK  
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ON US," OBSERVED A HUNGARIAN EDITOR. "THE ROAD TO  
HUMAN RIGHTS IN OUR COUNTRY IS THROUGH DETENTE - AND  
THAT'S SOMETHING YOU AMERICANS HAVEN'T YET QUITE  
LEARNED."

AN IRONIC FOOTNOTE TO HIS COMMENT IS THAT SOME OF THE  
MOST VOCAL OF THE FEW "DISSIDENTS" IN HUNGARY - IN  
SHARP CONTRAST TO THE MANY IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA - ARE  
CRITICS FROM THE LEFT, WHO BELIEVE THE GOVERNMENT'S  
ECONOMIC POLICIES ARE TOO LIBERAL AND WHO, IN ECO-  
NOMIC IF NOT IN POLITICAL TERMS, WANT TO SEE SOME  
REVERSION TO PURER MARXIST PRINCIPLES.

"WE INTELLECTUALS DO HAVE A GOOD DEAL OF FREEDOM TO  
PUBLISH WHAT WE WANT IN HUNGARY TODAY," ONE PROMINENT  
WRITER OBSERVED. "THERE'S NO CENSORSHIP, BUT WE'RE  
RESPONSIBLE FOR WHAT WE WRITE; I CAN WRITE ALL SORTS OF  
INTERESTING THINGS - IF I'M BRAVE ENOUGH TO DO IT."  
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